THE

# NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

MAGAZINE



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#### THE

## NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE

## THE FIRST LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS

HY

JACQUES W REDWAY, F. R. G. S.

In examining the evidence consuming the first handfall of Columbias on the shores of the American continent, but little attention has been given heretofore to the avidence that might be found in early maps. Most critical have attempted to solve the problem by platting the course either forward or backward as might seem most expedient. A few historical writers have been content to brush soids all evidence save that contained in the log book trusting to logical informer where positive evidence is wanting.

But logical interest as are of value only when there is conciting like unnormity of agreement, and thus far, with respect to the familiall, they have resulted, not in anonimity of agreement out in diversity. By such inferences Washington Irving fixed upon Cat island, Muñoz believed it to be Watting; Navarrete held it to be trumit fuck: Richer, Purker, Murdowh and Markham eleved gails off various parts of the const of the present Watting; Captain for kept the anchors fast to the catheads until the equation coupt into a log hight on the seath acts of Sarana, and Various hard let go those same anchors off the resis of Mariguana.

At the present time, however, but three islands are seminally considered - Mariguana, Watting and Samana-and the opinions

having the most weight are those of trained scames. In the following pages I have conteavored to discuss the morita of the two prevailing opinions from a generaphic standpoint, making use not so much of a modern chart as of the evidence contained in certain maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth contained.

There is but one source from which information concerning the first landing-place cut be obtained, and that is the log back. Eyer since navigation of the sea began it has been the custom to keep this official record of the voyage with the utmeet adolfty. for a falsely kept boy is an aboundation that nowadays will ambject the master of the vessel to the severest perulties. In his private log book, the only one whose contents are now known, Columbus admits that he anderstated the daily run of the cameoa Santo Moror but he says that he thus followed his quasi-official log in order to keep a mulineus rrew in subjection. The deerption practiced on his crew, however, was a subterfage that could have misled to one but an ignorant railer; it could not have deceived the brothers Pincon the musters of the two caravels. for they were quite as skillful navigators as Columbus. The private log must have been reasonably correct, therefore, or it would have been exposed by the enemies of the Admiral.

Unfortunately, this dominent has disappeared and it cannot now be found. All we know of its contents is contained in an abridged and interpolated copy made by that grand old soldier-priest. Las Casas. From the date of betober 10, however, the log seems to have been copied in full and mainly in the insessing goods of the Admiral.\* The interpolations, however, are generally appeared. But, good, had or instifferent, about the only knowledge we possess is contained in this nortified log, and whatever conclusions one may reach conserring the locas of the landfull and the courses between Guamahani and Cuba, it must stand or full accordingly as it agrees of disagrees with Las these all-liquient. The map of Juan do la Cosa affords no tangible evidence; Columbus' letter to Luis Fantangel contains no filterion to the matter.

One might think that with the log and a good cleart the causb-

<sup>\*</sup>Appacently Schor Castellar, in the second section proposed in the Contary Magazine, Dell, has not appreciated the fact that order a part of the local in the words of Colombia. He quotes freely from Colombias, seemingly oblivenes to the fact that much of the unitered protest is not the lengthese of Colombias, but that of Las Casas.

lishmout of the squadron's course would be an every traffer, but unfortunately this is not the ease. At that time there was no instrument sufficiently precise to establish a ship's position to within two or three degrees. Moreover, in the entire log book there are but one or two references to latitudes, and there are not exact enough to establish anything. Still mother difficulty in the way is the variation of the compass. At that time a variation was known to exist, but, a few decheations accepted, no values had been determined. Columbus, indeed, found that his declination was changing, but he dad not establish any values to a change of twenty degrees or more in declination, during the vayage, oven if the Admiral had allowed for it, would have not be the retracing of the course a difficult matter.

The fact that Columbus did not write well in the Spanish language adds to the difficulty also. He she not punctuate, and many of his sentences are so untegrous that it is impossible to tell their morning. For instance in the pourual of Suaday, October 14, he says: "At the break of day I commanded the gig of the ship and the beats of the canvols to be [lowered] and went along the identity in a north-portheasterly course to see the other part which was to the other part of the east." I This particular passage is so perplexing that at least three different points of Watling island have been selected as the first anchorage.

Within a few years research has narrowed the six islands above named to the three already notes!—Wailing, Marigumus, and Sanara. Wailing island constitute proposed by Moñoz, but it is very uncertain that the Wailing island of Muñoz is the one at present bearing that name. On the contrary, if the cusps of Saver (1792), Jacobse (1621) and the so-called map of Vallard (1547) are worth anything as evidence, the Wailing island of Muñoz lay to the southeast of the island at present bearing the cause Wailing. In fact, this island had the relative position that Samana now occupies.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Y name the Course used to go achieve and the a cross-stall on the hearth when he wished to find his latitude.

that the port of Gomes, at the time Colomber saided, the declination was absent the E., at the according of the thirty-fifth maridian it was not for from 10° W. At Compalment it could not have been more than two or throw degrees. The assente, or line of to declaration now passes within a few under of Samuras.

<sup>&</sup>quot;See note on page 15-i for the quedation from the log book.

In his day, Las Casas says that the island which the natives called Guanabani and Leimahus recomed San Salvador, was known by the name of Triango. After a diligent search, however, I find no map isocrate this name carlier than the third double of the sixteenth century. This is the famous Weiner map, but unfuturately on this map the names both of Guanabani and Triango appear, the latter an islet a little to the eastward of Guanabani. Both names also appear on several other maps published during the next fifty years, and in the map of Sobustian Cabet (1544) an island, Triangulo, is found bearing the same relative position that Triangulo holds on the Weiner temp. The name also appears on the maps of Guanabani also appears on the collection of R, and I, Ottens of an anonymous map in the collection of R, and I, Ottens of this map Guanabani also occurs as a separate island.

In 1856 Captain Bocher, Royal Navy, discussed the question existantively, taking the ground that the present Warling i was the locus of the landfall. His researches forever put an end to any lingering belief that Cut island was the San Salvador of Columbus. His views have been ably supported by the late R. H. Major, Lieutemant Murdock, United States Navy, and more recently by Captain William H. Parker, formerly of the United States Navy. Captain Parker combines the qualities of a trained searon with those of a critical scholar. He spent many years to the West Indies and in Spain, and having had access to all papers and documents bearing upon the question, stands in the ranks of the finemest anthorities.

Marignation or other properly. Maraginana island has been pointed our by Variobages as a probable site of the inodfall. It has in an east and-west direction, and its shores are broken by spile and cover; but Variotagen and only lemones the fact that on leaving Guacabani the squadron eached to the southwest, be out a from his thesis the Admiral's diclaration that on the morney has abouted soil to the southwest. Variobagen has the outree due west and anchors the squadron on the windward soile of Acklin island (!)

In 1880 Captain Gustavac V. Fox. United States Nacy (in 1881 Assistant Secretary of the Navy), published a critical review of

<sup>\*</sup> Nova Talada Exhibens Inmins Cuba et Hispanohini. An deritor.

[I am analile to give the date. There is a copy in the British Museum.]

I Samed from a pirate of the seventeenth contary.

the curious monographs meaning upon the subject. At the same time he offered a carefully prepared array of seidence in favor of Samani or Atwood Cay. Owing to the fact that it was published in a government report, the monograph did not then terrive the attention it deserved, and for ten years it was popularly maknown; lately, however, it has commanded much interest. In his Discovery of America, Mr John Fiske adopts Captain Fox's views, and Mr Henry Harrisse, though rather inclining to Acklin island, practically admits that Captain Fox has come more to the truth than any other critic.

From the nature of the case it is evident that the quadion connot be settled without the aid of the trained semman. It is equally evident that the problem comes within the domain of the group her, the curtographer and the historian. No sofution will be satisfactory therefore, tout does not usest the conditions imposed by each of these sciences. Several historical papers that have recently appeared have been merellessly riddled because of their failure to comply with the conditions demanded by the ravigator. The sailor, on the other hand, is not stways beyond criticism in discussing questions belonging to history or to cartography. Herr Cromm,' a historical writer, for instance, who, in 1890, took the trouble to visit the Babaran islands, declares that he had no difficulty in identifying Raling ricks, on Watling island, as the spot where Cotumbus lamied. Here is a statement that for vernal simplicity less scarcely an equal in historical literature. Had be divided the entire coast of the fishers islamis into five-mile stretches, he could have identified sixty per count of them with equal facility. Neither Boolier nor Parker suresoiled in accomplishing such a wonderful feat, and Horr Cronau has the credit of it all to himself. It may In casually added however, so very like one arother are stretches of coast that, in spate of lighthouses and profiles, scarcely a day passes that masters and pilots of long experience are not decovered. Indeed, there are but few harbors that have not eather a " balse " entrance or a " false " namesake. Herr Cronan also asserts that Watting ishard is the only one answering to all the

<sup>\*</sup> Report of the United States Coast and Cooderic Servey, 1880, Appendix 18.

the assuments of Burr Crosser's paper, published in the blagarine of assertion History March, 1892, President C. K. Adams, of Madjson Lavoraty, anderses this view.

distinctive features enumerated by original authorities, and that in following the course from Watting there is no difficulty in Electifying all the islands at which the fleet stopped." Such a statement is simply ridications; if it were true, all dispute about the matter would have ended long ago.

This writer also indexed much of the assertion that the I-bord contained a large interior lake. As a matter of fact, however, Commbus makes to such assertion. He says there was a large layour in the middle; but a begoin is one thing and a lake is quite another.\* Even Captain Feeber fails into this error, a piece of carelessness for which Captain Fox takes him to task. Herr Cronau also criticises Kettell's translation of the passage in which Cohumbus states that, with the boats of the ships, he took a north-nertheasterly course to see the other sole, He termslates this purplexing passage. "I skirted along the coast towards the north-nertheast in order to suppose the other part of the island, namely, that which lies to the east." Now this may, or it may not be what Cohumbus meant; it certainly is not what he wrote and Herr Cronau's guess is no better than that of any other student.

Mr Charents R. Markham in reviewing the question does biuself injustice by a few expressions which are certainly illebased. In a very scholarly article he says, concerning the first landfall: "If the materials from the Journal were placed in the hands of any midshipman in Her Majesty's myy, he would put his larger on the true landfall in half an heur." Such a statement as this most certainly will not do. Fould the question he so easily settled as all this it would not have been a lone of contention for more than a century. Furthermore, Mr Markham says: "It is obvious that, if we truce these bearings and distances backwards from tuba they will bring us to an island that must necessarily be the Guanabani or San Salvador of Columbus. This is the sailor's method.";

But what sailor has yet been able to accomplish this problem so suitable for a royal maidy's resitation exercise? Where on the coast of Cuba is the place at which the Atheiral landed? How much sed in what direction was the squadron carried out

<sup>\* &</sup>quot; Y num begans in medio muy granda." Log book, October 12.

En armatecciendo mande aderevar el batel de la ano e los horas de las caratedas, y for al incurso de la isla, en el camimo del notrombeste, para ver la atra parte, que era de la otra parte del Leste. Log book, Ortober 11.

<sup>!</sup> Proceedings of the Rayne Coopenphical Society, September, 1892.

of the course by the winds, by the thies, by the swift currents of the West Indian sens? What was lost or gained in natitude and departure in all the many times the vessels were standing off and on? Of all the places in the West Indies at which the squadron anchored, but one, Fort Navidao, is known. Here the caracca Sman Marca was wrocked, and forty-two men packed from the crews were left to guard the stockade built from the wrocked rosed. The impression obtains that Puerto Nipe was the first place in Cuba at which the squadron touched Navarrete takes this view, and so do Captaons Benher and Parker. As a matter of fact, there is not a scrattle of evidence to establish such a statement. The Admiral states specifically that there were but twelve fathoras of water in the harber in which the squadron anchored. But in the rendstend of Puerto Nipe there is a depth of from twenty to therey-tree fathous, while in the gut through which it opens into the sea there are marly twice Iwelve fathonie of water; in the deepast part there are about forty fatheres. New an estuary rate which several mountain torrents are pouring might possibly silt itself up from thirty-odd fathous to thelve, it rould not well seems itself out from twelve fathoms to thirty. Moreover, the course from Islan de Arenas to l'uerto Aipe would have been two or three points cost of north, but necording to the log Columbus lay the course southsouthwest, and the westerly current would have carried him at II farther westward. Had Mosers Berber, Markham, and Parker considered Prorto Paire as the first anchomige on the coast of Union there would have been fewer inconsectiones to explain 3.99.8字。

And this brings me to a statement to Mr Murkimon's interesting paper that I wish chickly to consider. Busays:

When we woundy applicated the close reasoning of Major's paper we expressed that the question was at length softied; but as time would ensure in high official position even started a new island, contending that same was the limital. But For a Samuna and Variabilities a Mayaguana must be "ruled out of court" a though forther discussion, for they not however on the toops of Josep on in C. a stall Hierora, on which Gusselbam discussions. It is obvious that they cannot be Camabian and the same time, and it is perhaps needless to add the they do not marked by the observation of Camabian by Columbus and meet none of the other requirements.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Capture Constitute V For.

Now, if Samuon must be dropped without discussion because it appears on a map on which trustations also appears. Watting televident also be dropped for the same reason, for it appears with Guanaham on the map of R. and L. Ottens, and on at least half a score of other maps, probably contemporaneous, that the mather has examined in the British Museum

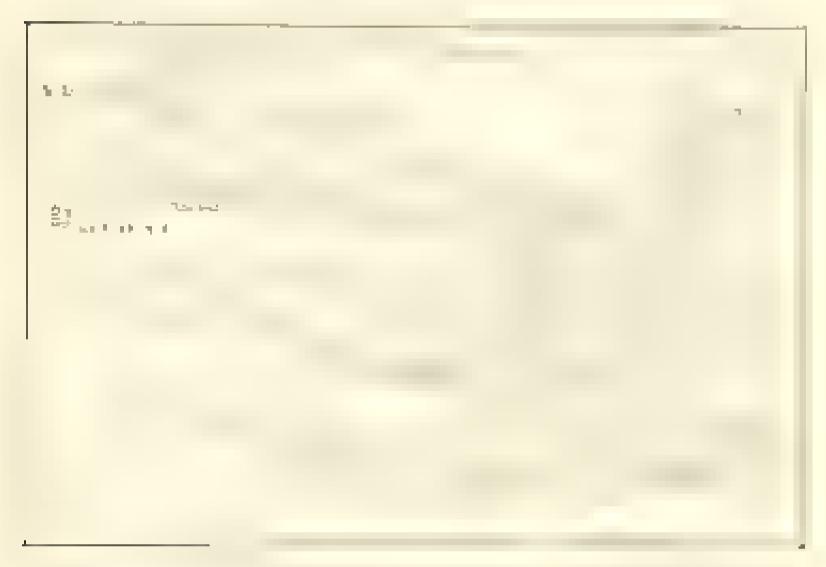
But at the risk of being "ruled out of court " myself. I shall attempt to show that not only can Saroana be Guanahanl and itself, but also that for one bundeed years or more Samané was Granahani and itself at the same time. In the first place, let us look at the map of in Cosa (see plate 10). On this map it will he observed that the name Samans may apply to any one of three islands. It is about as near to Guanahani as either of the others, though It is hardly possible to decide upon which it is intended to apply. Incidentally it may be noted that the bland which la Cosa marks Hait. Is not the one at present bearing the name. That name, in fact, has been transferred to the Island to ambus named in Española. Moreover, the transference of nations on early maps was by no mems an uncommon thing. If Johann Schöner had not earstendy transferred the meric " Parine" from the Spanish main to Mexico, instead of putting the rightful "Lariab" there, it is doubtful if the perthern part of the western continent would have been called America. An inspection of a very few maps of the sixtuenth century will show that the transference and reduplication of names was made in a wholesale manner.

The map of Herrera (see figure 1), upon which Mesers Major and Markham lay so much stress, famishes but little evidence not found in the map of la Cosa, and although nearly one hundred years later, it is hardly more than a copy of the latter. The most notable difference is in the shape of Granaham. The east-sud-west position by which the Admiral describes it and which it has on la Cosa's chart has been changed to a north-and south tread. Furthermore, it is no longer northeast of the island of Semeto, but almost due north. The island of Samans on the map of Herrera has the same distance and bearings from Someto that Granaham has on the map of la Cosa. Just why Mesers Major and Markham place so much confidence in the map of

<sup>\*</sup>The critical part of this map has been traced by the author, copying not only the currents as found, but inserting their names also, each in the place it occupies at the original.

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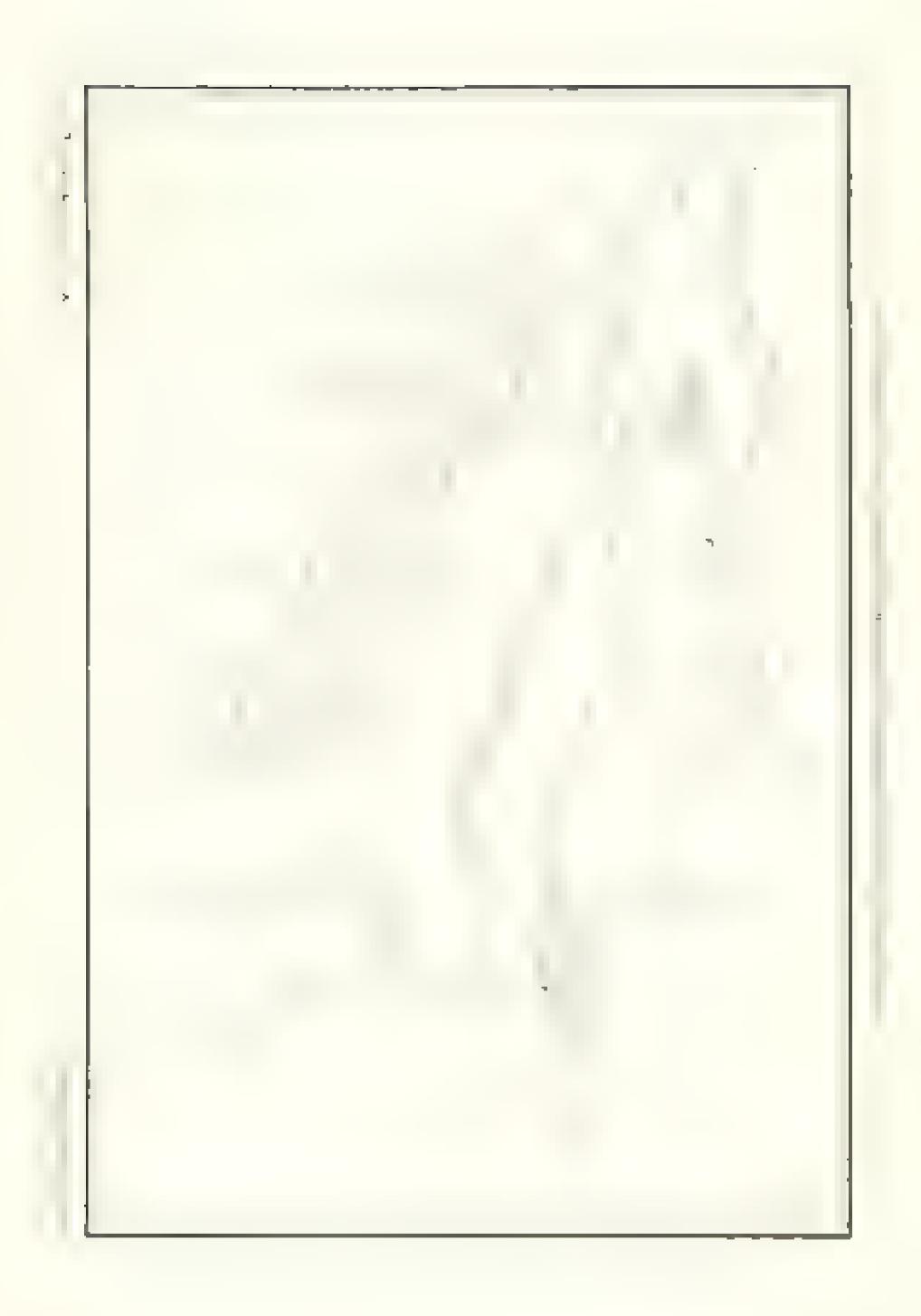
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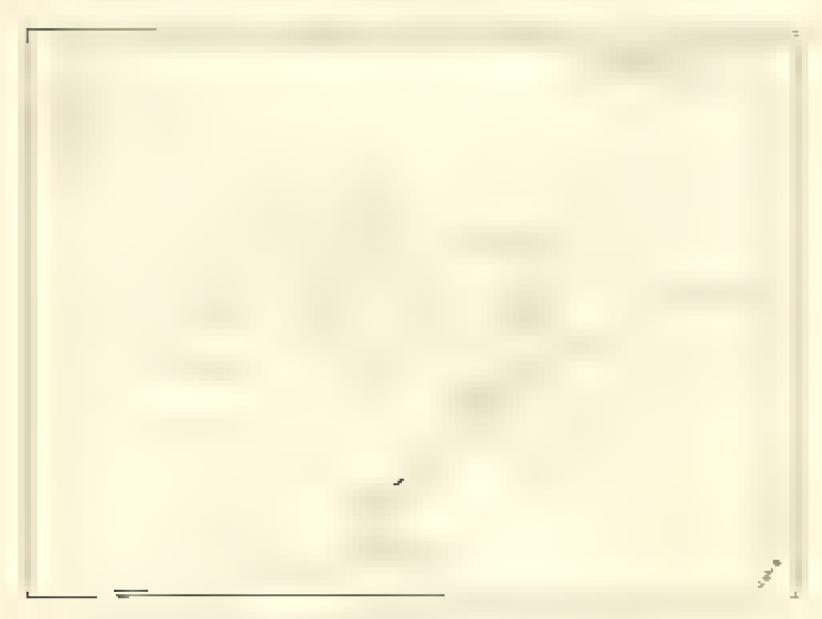
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#### GENERAL A ST GARRIN

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<sup>\*</sup>Geograph to Chairma dannary, letel, p. 11

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<sup>8.</sup> New York, Way, 1991, V.L. 104.

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<sup>4</sup> S. Am. Physics, No. 3, Supercolour, 1991, pp. 423-47.
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<sup>10</sup> New York, Marc. Stat. V. 1964.

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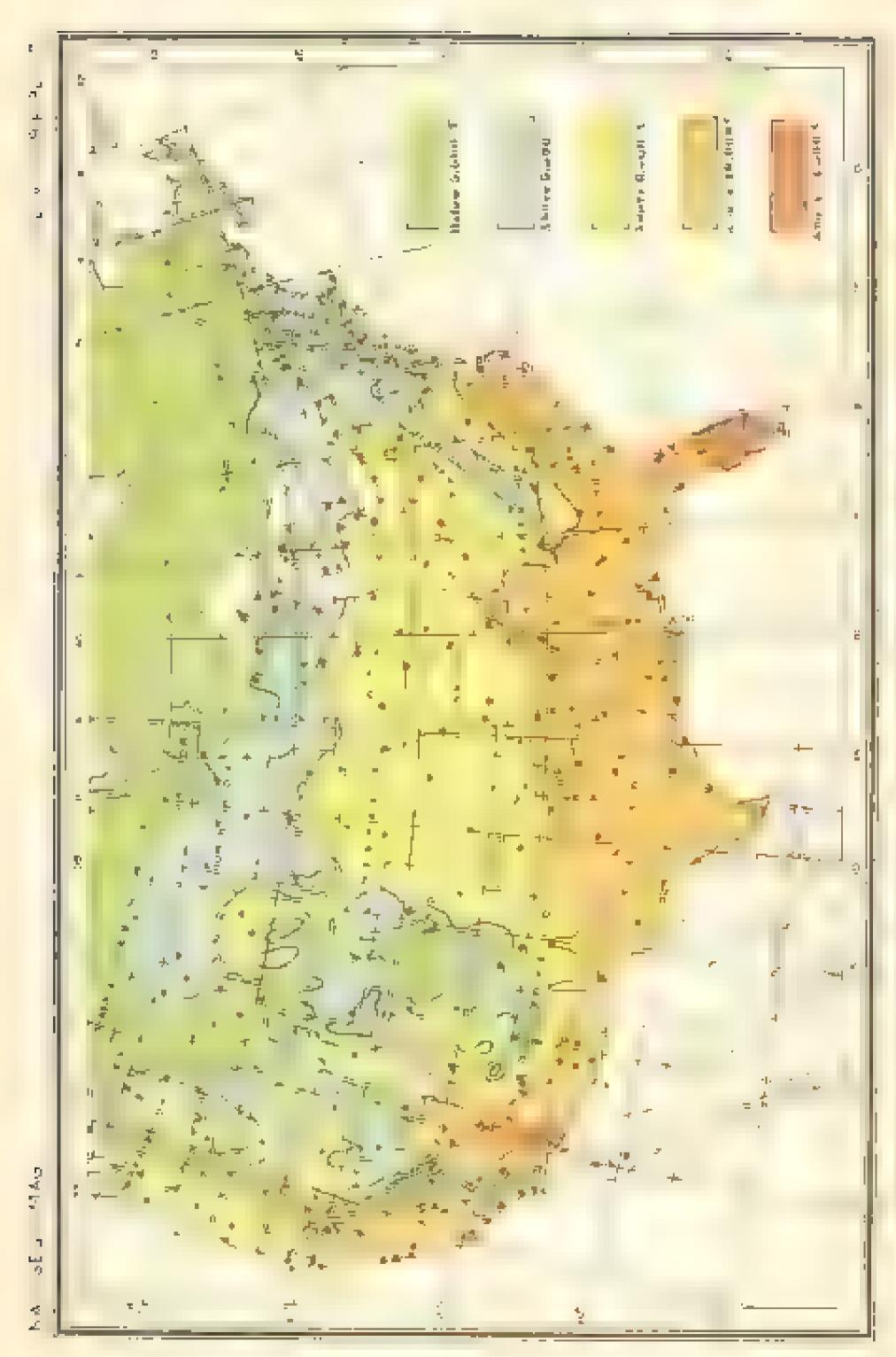
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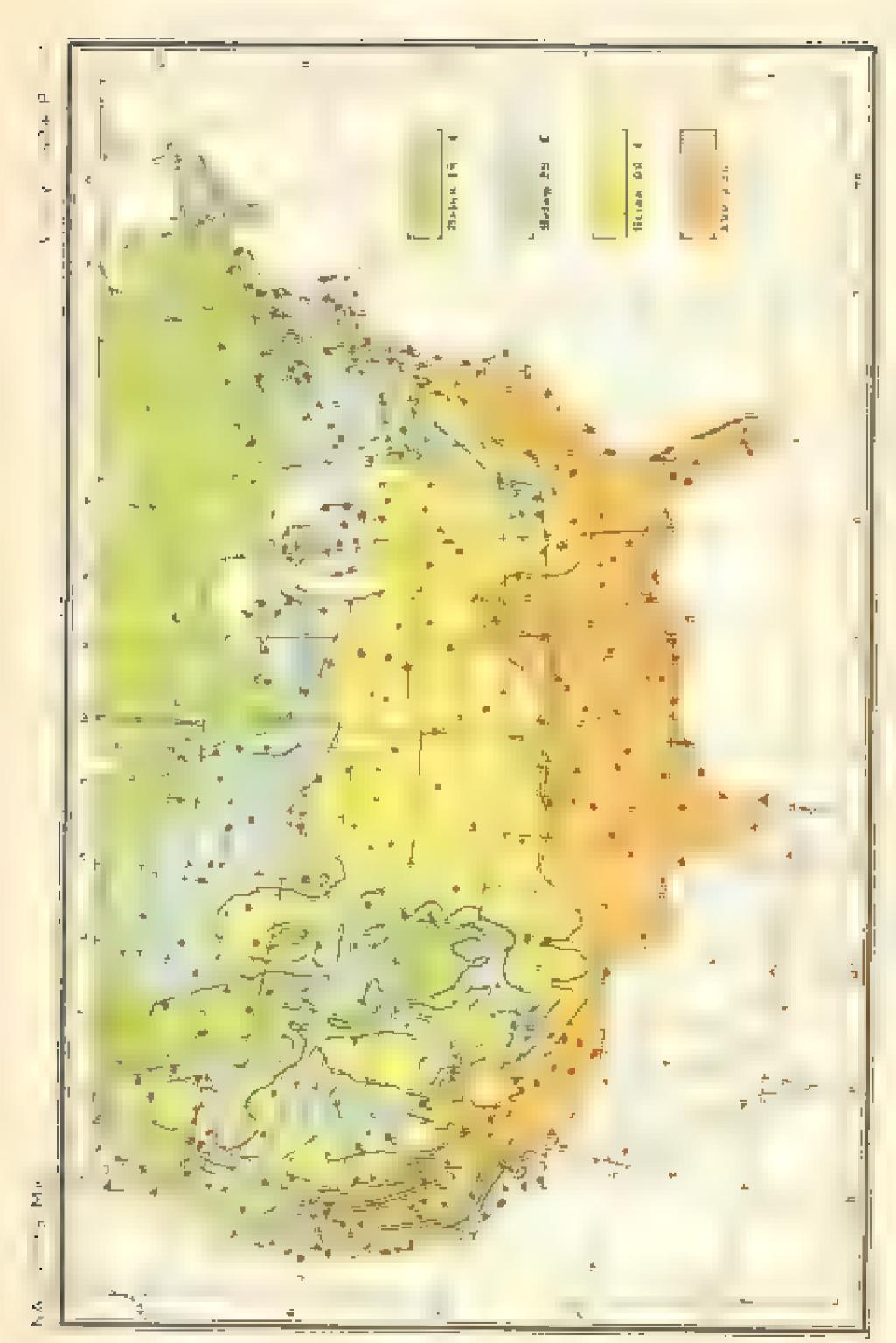
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